

THE NATIONAL ERA.

G. BAILEY, JUN., EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

VOL. III.—NO. 6.

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1849.

WHOLE NO. 110.

The National Era is Published Weekly, on Seven
Street, opposite Old Fellow's Hall.

TERMS.

Two dollars per annum, payable in advance.

Advertisements not exceeding ten lines inserted

three times for one dollar; every subsequent inser-

tion, twenty-five cents.

BELL & BLANCHARD, PRINTERS.

BUSINESS, NOTICES.

As this paper is not sent to any new sub-

scribers, unless paid for in advance, the rea-

son of it will be a sufficient receipt.

Agents or others having funds to forward

are requested to make arrangements conve-

nient for the safe deposit of their mon-

ies in New York, Philadelphia, or Balti-

more, or in Baltimore banks. Do not send

certificates of deposit.

Any clergyman who will procure four sum-

mers, and send us eight dollars, may have a

fifth copy gratis for one year.

Mr. V. B. Palmer, his newspaper agency,

New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Balti-

more, is duly authorized to procure advertisements for this paper.

Within the last week we have received

one or two copies from the direction of papers

changed, while informing us to what post office,

city, or State, the papers have heretofore been

sent. Without these, we cannot change the direc-

tion.

Agents and others, in sending names are

requested to be very particular, and have each

distinct. Give me the name of the Post Office, the

City, and the State.

Accounts are kept with each subscriber, and

when we receive money from him on his ac-

counts, it is immediately passed on his credit.

Agents will be asked to keep an account

with each subscriber. Hence no account will be

kept with the agents; and in transmitting monies

on which they are entitled to a commission, that

will retain the amount of their commission, and is

all cases, forwarded the money with the names, so as

to make the account at once clear.

Agents and others who wish to send us

franked parts of a paper, can now do so with-

out increasing the postage, by remitting pre-paid

post office stamp, which can now be obtained at

any post office.

We invite the attention of those who are

retaining monies to the following table, show-

ing the rate of discount on uncurrent money in

this city. We earnestly hope that those who

send money will endear to such bank bills

as are at the lowest discount:

Washington, D. C. . . . Maryland 12-4ds.

Philadelphia Pa. . . . Western Virginia 1-2 ds.

New York State 3-4ds. Indiana 2-1-1/2 ds.

New England 1-2 ds. Kentucky 3-4ds.

New Jersey 3-4ds. Michigan 3 ds.

Eastern Penn. . . . 1-2 ds. Canada 3 ds.

Western Penn. . . . 1-2 ds. 6ds.

This is rather rapturous; but it is only Smith's

way of expressing the unquestionable fact, that

Earl Grey was the very man who could, if mortal

man could, carry such a measure in the face of

the aristocracy of England. The people trusted him, and the sane portion of the hostile factions

opposed him less obstinately than they would

have done to some "foolish or

revolutionist." There were croakers then, as

there will be in all reform parties, who

thought the lead in this crisis would have been

given to some younger and more radical person,

who had distinguished himself by furious de-

clarations, and instant action. But Earl Grey

had been sure to drive to him friends

without countering than loss by accusations

from any quarter.

Brougham's name was men-

tioned for Premier; and, even the King, at one

time, thought him fit for the command of the

army. But he had to clear a perception of his

peculiar talents, and appropriate place, to yield

such solicitations. He knew, that to make a brilliant

outcry upon a strong Tory ministry,

was the best way to bring about a revolution;

and he did it.

Earl Grey, speaking of Earl Grey, at a

Reform meeting, while the bill was pending, said:

"You are directed by a minister who prefers

character to place, and who has given such un-

equivocal proofs of honesty and patriotism, that

he is a good man."

He was right, though he was not

entirely honest, and, in his judgment, he was

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that the United States laws having abolished imprisonment for debt in all States where it was not abolished by State laws, which is the case in this State, the parties could not be held to bail. The point thus raised involved some important questions, which, it determined in favor of the position of the defendants, will seriously embarrass the enforcement of our whole system of revenue laws. The Judge took the matter under consideration."

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 8, 1849.

CORRESPONDENTS.

"Mary Living?" is very welcome. Why not let us know who she is? We are great for keeping a secret. Her story shall soon appear.

Among the Poems on file for publication, we may name—*Reform*, by C. J. Smith; *The Ohio River*, by W. D. Emerson; *A Dirge*, Caleb Cope; *The Spirit's Call*, T. W. Finney; *Labor and Rest*, and *The Deserted House*, Isaac Julian; *The Willow Leaf*, a Translation, by Constance; *Any, J. D. Harris.*

Among the prose articles awaiting publication are the following—Poetry vs. Civilization; Teutonic Prefaces in English, No. 2; A communication on Slavery, by Thomas Pitts, of Virginia; Domestic Slavery, by a Virginian; Farming Lands Near Washington, No. 1, by a Citizen of Washington, &c.

IRREGULARITY.

Now and then, though very rarely, a complaint reaches us of irregularity in the reception of the *Era*. We are exempt from all blame. The whole issue of our paper is mailed every week, on the same day, and we know there is no mistake, as they are lagged in our own office. We wish Uncle Sam were as punctual as we are.

BANKS OF SANDUSKY AND NORWALK.

We beg our friends not to take the trouble of sending us notes on the Banks of Sandusky and Norwalk. The are both broken and we strongly object to giving them any countenance.

"Our readers must excuse us for troubling them with so long an article. It seemed to us that the Address noted, furnished a proper occasion for a comprehensive survey of the Slavery question; and it was desirable that our comments should follow the text with as little delay as possible. The Philadelphia North American contains a series of editorial articles on the same subject; the occasional coincidence of some of our thoughts makes it proper to say that we wrote the following article before they appeared.

REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF CERTAIN SOUTHERN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TO THEIR CONSTITUENTS.

The Declaration of grievances, from the pen of Mr. Calhoun, has been before our readers for one week, so that they have had time to form their own opinions of the nature and bearings of its allegations. Slaveholders complain that the North is inaccessible to their arguments, the papers of that section refusing to give them any publicity. They cannot bring this charge against us. We are in the habit of submitting to our readers, sometimes without note or comment, speeches and papers, on which they rely with most confidence for the justification of their course and principles. Common sense teaches that where there are two parties arrayed against each other on a great question, they should take pains to understand each other's position and purpose, the means proposed to effectuate the one, the arguments used to sustain the other.

The tone and character of this Address are exclusively sectional. "The North" is assumed to be thoroughly anti-slavery, and "the South" is not recognized as having any interest, any existence, apart from slavery. Slaveholders and "the South" are used as convertible terms; for every form of anti-slavery agitation and action, "the North" is held responsible. This confounding of things not always identical, in many important respects entirely distinct, is necessary to the purpose of Mr. Calhoun, whose constant aim is to represent as a struggle between sections, what in truth is a conflict between Principles, and therefore to give strength to a bad cause by arraying in its support sectional pride, jealousy, and ambition.

Another characteristic of this Address is, its *one-sidedness*. The aggressions are all on the side of "the North." "The South" is uniformly situated against; never saving. The possibility even of mistake on the part of the latter, or of any excuse on the part of the former, is not admitted for a moment. "The North" is not only aggressive, but wantonly, without provocation, aggressive. "The South" is not only aggrieved, but aggrieved without having afforded even a pretext to the aggressor. A more plausible man than Mr. Calhoun, or one less infatuated than he, would have seen the necessity of admitting some blameworthiness on the side of himself and his friends, so as to show that they were not under the domination of a blind, undiscriminating sense of wrong.

Another feature of the Address will arrest the attention of every reflecting mind. It does not openly advise a dissolution of the Union, but it insists on the expediency of a Southern organization, independent of all ties which bind the Southern to the Northern People, with a view to systematic resistance, to the last extremity, of any action of Congress tending to prohibit the introduction of slavery into California and New Mexico. It calls upon the South to adopt a policy which, if adopted and persisted in, may array that portion of our country in open hostility against the Federal Government.

We shall now examine the statements and arguments of this Address.

It commences with a short exposition of the provisions of the Constitution supposed to refer to Slavery; briefly surveys the relations of North and South from the time of the adoption of the Constitution down to the year 1819, famous for the commencement of the Missouri struggle; and then proceeds to detail the aggressions of "the North" under four distinct heads—the opposition to the admission of Missouri; the opposition to the reclamation of fugitives from service or labor; the associated operations of citizens of the free States with a view to anti-slavery results; and the demand now made that the Territories of California and New Mexico shall be closed against the introduction of slaves.

"The conflict between the two great sections of the Union, growing out of a difference of feeling and opinion in reference to the relations existing between the two races, the European and African, which inhabit the Southern section," commenced, according to the Address, "not long after the acknowledgment of our independence, and was finally adjusted by compromises that framed the Constitution.

It will be observed with what ingenuity Mr. Calhoun contrives to invest this question, the very beginning of it, with a sectional aspect. This "conflict" of opinion, and feeling respecting slavery, commenced before, not after, the Declaration of Independence, every man familiar with the colonial history of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York, Virginia, Maryland, and Georgia, must know. Had we room, we could prove this statement by columns of quotations from the proceedings of the Colonial Legislatures, and of public meetings held in both sections of the country. As a political question, it agitated the Congress of the Confederation soon after its first meeting, and long before the acknowledgment of our independence, giving rise to the first compromise ever formed on the slave question, which was the adoption of the three-fifths ratio in estimating slaves as a part of the basis of taxation. But what is still more important, this conflict of feeling and opinion respecting slavery prevailed before, during, and for some time after, our war of independ-

ence, not between the North and the South, but in both sections, between the few determining supporters of slavery and the great majority of the people of the colonies first, and States afterwards hostile to the system. At that period, slavery existed in nearly all the States, and the anti-slavery sentiment was as strong in Virginia and Maryland as in Pennsylvania and New York. The conflict was, not between sections, but between principles and interests throughout the Union.

The slavery of the Southern section, however, increased, while that of the Northern decreased, so that, when the Federal Convention met to form a Constitution for the United States, "the difference of opinion and feeling in reference to the relation between the two races" or, properly, in regard to the relations which slavery ought to sustain to the new Government, became more sectional in its character. The opposition to slavery was not sectional, for it prevailed extensively in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, all of which, subsequently, abolition societies were organized and kept for a long time in active operation. But, as slavery in some of its bearings could not fail to come up as a political element in adjusting the new Government, it was here that the delegates from the Northern and Southern Divided in opinion.

"After much effort," says the Address, "this measure was overcome by a compromise, which provided, in the first place, that representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the States according to their respective numbers; and that, in ascertaining the number of each, five slaves shall be counted as three." It is clear that slaves escaping into the Slave States, where slavery did not exist, should not be discharged from servitude, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom their labor or service is due. In the third place, that Congress shall not prohibit the importation of slaves into the United States, except by a tax not exceeding ten dollars per hundred on each imported. And, finally, that no capital or direct tax shall be laid, but in proportion to federal numbers; and that no amendment to the Constitution, prior to 1808, shall affect this provision, nor that relating to the importation of slaves."

This version of the Constitution given by Mr. Calhoun, the provisions not being stated in the language of that instrument, does not convey a correct and full idea of their intent. The Constitution directs the apportionment of representatives and direct taxes among the several States according to their respective numbers, which are to be determined by adding "to the whole number of free persons included those bound to service for terms of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons." It provides that "persons held to service or labor, under the laws of one State, fugitive in another, shall not be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim," &c.

In the third place, it provides that Congress shall not prohibit the "migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, prior to the year 1808." The word "slave" is not allowed to appear in the Constitution. These provisions were so framed, that Slavery might cease at any moment, and yet they would be applicable, because embracing classes of persons, beside slaves. But two motives can be assigned for the adoption of such phraseology—1st, a repugnance on the part of the founders of a free Republic, who had just appealed to the God of Armies in justification of their cause; 2dly, an expectation in the event of a Revolution, founded upon a solemn declaration of the natural, indefensible right of all men to liberty, to suffer anything to appear on the face of the new Constitution intimating the recognition of Slavery; and, 2dly, an expectation in the event of a Revolution, that the majority of those States would be temporary, so that all the provisions in regard to it would be of such a character as to allow of its extinction without requiring amendment. Contemporaneous history confirms the correctness of this explanation. We might had not so often done it) quote from the speeches of the leading Northern and Southern members in the Federal Convention of 1787, from the speeches of the most distinguished members of the State Conventions called to decide on the new Constitution in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and several Southern States, and from the writings and recorded sayings of the most illustrious men of that day, George Washington at their head, to show that such was the feeling, and such the expectation, in regard to the system would be temporary, so that all the provisions in regard to it would be of such a character as to allow of its extinction without requiring amendment.

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